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Liberty

NOT THE DAUGHTER BUT THE MOTHER OF ORDER — PROUDHON

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"For always in thine eyes, O Liberty!
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved;
And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee."
JOHN HAY.

On Picket Duty.

The "Public" endorses District Attorney Jerome's contention that political corruption is but a reflex of commercial corruption. I wonder if the editor of the "Public" read Mr. Byington's masterly analysis of that error in the October number of Liberty. He certainly could do better service to his theory that politics is not by nature a specific breeder of corruption by refuting Mr. Byington's arguments than by merely echoing Jerome.

To Judge Cowing's statement that he is unable to see why the legislature should have made it wrong to bet outside of a race track and right to bet inside of one, the New York "Times" answers that "time and place make enormous differences in an enormous number of acts," and that "there is nothing more absurd in allowing bets to be made on race tracks and forbidding them elsewhere than in the restrictions placed on the beating of carpets." The "Times" seems to be unaware that neither time or place can rightly affect the legitimacy of an act except as it may affect the invasive quality of the act. It is readily conceivable that the invasiveness of the act of carpet-beating may depend upon time or place, but it is not so easy to see why the betting that is non-invasive at the race track becomes invasive in the pool-room. That "common consent" which the "Times" apparently looks upon as the sole criterion of legitimacy must itself be justified by reason; else, sooner or later, reason will overthrow it.

The State and its upholders keep constantly on hand a stock of excuses under cover of some one of which it is almost always possible to practise upon the individual citizen any particular tyranny that class interest may demand. Principal among these are the sanctity of the United States mails, the purity of the young person, and the public health. The last-named is the most generally useful for tyrannical purposes. It has lately served the New York court of appeals as a ground for declaring constitutional, by a vote of four to three, the law prohibiting bakers from working more than ten hours a day. The argument is that the health of the people requires that bakers be healthy, and that bakers cannot be healthy if overworked. By such reasoning the police powers of the legislature can be made equal to the denial of every form of individual liberty. I am glad to learn, however, that even boards of health recognize a limit to their powers. A New York commissioner actually laughed the other day at a suggestion that sneezing as well as spitting should be prohibited by law.

Roosevelt's Panama swindle would fail miserably, if the Democratic minority refused to aid the usurper and public humbug. But what can be expected of an opposition in a degenerate republic? The Democratic votes will be forthcoming, and the stolen goods will be received by the "solid South," in spite of its hatred for the accidental entertainer of Booker T. Washington. The outrage, in truth, would never have been attempted, had the Democratic party given the piratical conspirators any reason to fear a determined and honest resistance. And why should politicians knowingly adopt an unpopular course? Were the question referred to the pious and virtuous electorate, the vote in favor of "digging the canal," no questions asked, would be overwhelming. The guileless believers in the "plain people" may challenge this assertion, but it is well-founded nevertheless. Bryan talks about conscience-campaigns and appeals to moral maxims. Let him ask his own followers to apply the commandments he invokes to this Panama question; let him try a little referendum among his readers and subscribers. The result will make him sadder, if not wiser. Lying and stealing are highly commendable features of statesmanship in the United States.

Many of Herbert Spencer's admirers were puzzled when the cable brought the news that the philosopher's will, in appropriating certain sums for certain purposes, had limited such use to the lifetime of Queen Victoria and that of her longest surviving child. That a man without respect for titles should hang an important matter on the lives of the titled seemed curious, not to say disappointing. It was a relief to learn later that the explanation of the anomaly is to be found in a provision of the English law which prevents a testator from devoting funds to a certain purpose perpetually, limiting such appropriation to the lifetime of some individual then existing and his longest surviving child. It has become the practice of lawyers, in drawing wills, to use the lives of the royal family for this measurement of time, and Spencer simply had followed the usual formula. I imagine that some similarly satisfactory explanation will be found for the astounding announcement that the London "Times" of January 18 contained a letter written by Spencer to a Japanese baron in 1892, in which Japan was advised to give as little foothold as possible to foreigners and to forbid absolutely the marriage of Japanese with foreigners. It is easier to believe that the letter is a deliberate forgery than that such advice was ever given by the author of "Man versus the State."

God-Forgotten.

I towered far, and lo! I stood within
The presence of the Lord Most High,
Sent thither by the sons of earth, to win
Some answer to their cry.

—"The Earth, say'st thou? The Human race?
By me created? Sad its lot?
Nay: I have no remembrance of such place:
Such world I fashioned not."—

—"O Lord, forgive me when I say
Thou spak'st the word, and mad'st it all."—
"The Earth of men—let me bethink me . . . . Yea!
I dimly do recall

"Some tiny sphere I framed long back
(Mid millions of such shapes of mine)
So named . . . . It perished, surely—not a wrack
Remaining, or a sign?

"It lost my interest from the first,
My aims therefor succeeding ill;
Haply it died of doing as it durst?"—
"Lord, it existeth still."—

"Dark, then, its life! For not a cry
Of aught it bears do I now hear;
Of its own act the threads were snapt whereby
Its plaints had reached mine ear.

"It used to ask for gifts of good,
Till came its severance self-entailed,
When sudden silence on that side ensued,
And has till now prevailed.

"All other orbs have kept in touch;
Their voicings reach me speedily:
Thy people took upon them overmuch
In sundering them from me!

"And it is strange—though sad enough—
Earth's race should think that one whose call
Frames, daily, shining spheres of flawless stuff
Must heed their tainted ball!

"But say'st thou 'tis by pangs distraught,
And strife, and silent suffering?—
Deep grieved am I that injury should be wrought
Even on so poor a thing!

"Thou should'st have learnt that *Not to Mend*
For Me could mean but *Not to Know:*
Hence, Messengers! and straightway put an end
To what men undergo." . . . .

Homing at dawn, I thought to see
One of the Messengers standing by.
—Oh, childish thought! . . . . Yet oft it comes to me
When trouble hovers nigh.

Thomas Hardy.

Liberty.

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"In abolishing rent and interest, the last vestiges of old-time slavery, the Revolution abolishes at one stroke the sword of the executioner, the seal of the magistrate, the club of the policeman, the gauge of the excisemen, the erasing-knife of the department clerk, all those insignia of Politics, which young Liberty grinds beneath her heel."—PROUDHON.

☞ The appearance in the editorial column of articles over other signatures than the editor's initial indicates that the editor approves their central purpose and general tenor, though he does not hold himself responsible for every phrase or word. But the appearance in other parts of the paper of articles by the same or other writers by no means indicates that he disapproves them in any respect, such disposition of them being governed largely by motives of convenience.

Spencer and Political Science.

So fully have Spencerian politics, ethics, and sociology been discussed in Liberty that an exhaustive re-examination of the late philosopher's doctrines from the Anarchistic point of view would be a work of supererogation. A few words, however, in addition to those already uttered, on his rank as a politico-social thinker and reformer, are now in order.

Spencer was not an Anarchist, though his writings have done more to prepare English-speaking students of the social problem for the Anarchistic philosophy than those of any other master. He was a severe and bitter opponent of democracy, and knew that political evolution has not reached the goal. Maine, Lecky, and other critics of "popular government" saw that the great political superstition of the age, majority rule, was a menace to liberty and progress, but they were essentially reactionary in their quasi-constructive suggestions. They had no ideal, and, as Spencer has so well said, even slow progress is impossible if we do not clearly see the way to the ultimate. Society may go backward; American society certainly has gone back to positions abandoned as untenable by its founders; but no honest and intellectually respectable thinker *advocates* retrogression. Democracy is bound to fail; it can yield us neither liberty nor material well-being. It does not follow, however, that oligarchy or autocracy should be restored.

More consistent and logical than Mill, Buckle, and other individualists, Spencer knew and realized that the remedy for the evils of democracy lay in the restriction of the sphere and scope of government. He proposed repeal, repeal, and repeal. Nearly everything he demanded was Anarchistic in nature and effect. The most notable exception was the land-tenure question. His early views having proved unsound, he became a defender—a reluctant one, it is true—of the *status quo*. He saw no other alternative than nationalization of the land, and from that he naturally shrank.

How different the Spencerian State would be from the State as we know it! What Anarchist would not enthusiastically coöperate with Spencerian individualists to bring about *their* reforms. Only a few steps would then remain to be taken. Auberon Herbert's voluntaryism, based upon Spencerian principles, is another name for Anarchism. Take away compulsion in taxation and defence, and the State has ceased to exist. The Spencerian individualist would discover that the assumed necessity of invasion in a few fundamental particulars had no real existence, and he would work for the next stage, Anarchism.

Spencer, it is true, claimed to have deduced from the very principles of social organization the legitimacy of compulsory coöperation for defence. His argument, however, was fallacious. He overlooked the fact that there are several methods of securing coöperation for necessary ends, some manifestly non-aggressive and consonant with the principle of equal freedom. It is, of course, unfair for any man to enjoy the benefits of peace and stability while declining to share the risks, sacrifices, and burdens entailed by actual or probable attacks from within or without; but such an unsocial and mean-spirited individual can be brought to terms by the boycott, material and moral. The biological "society-is-an-organism" argument is thus quite irrelevant. The organic nature of society may create certain necessities; it does not dictate particular methods.

Mr. Spencer's less scientific attempt, in "Man vs. the State," to discover an "ethical warrant" for compulsory military service, compulsory taxation, and compulsory coöperation in the enforcement of justice, is even more unsuccessful. It is based on the fact that there is "virtual unanimity" of advanced opinion in favor of State action so limited. The word virtual is fatal. The question is evaded, not answered. Has the one man, or the insignificant group of men, that refuses to support the State, even in the simplest of its functions, the right to stand alone, to ignore it? Spencer never refuted his own early demonstration of this right, deduced with faultless logic from the principle of equal liberty.

We may say, therefore, that "Social Statics," though not free from inconsistencies and crudities, was fundamentally an Anarchistic work. It was an advance upon Von Humboldt's remarkable book on the sphere of the State. All of Spencer's subsequent writings are individualistic and characterized, philosophically speaking, by a want of finish and boldness. The charge that he consciously stopped short of his real convictions out of consideration for a class is too absurd to require attention, but, whatever the explanation may be, the fact must be recognized.

Aside from some specific and detached errors, Spencer was as thoroughgoing as it is possible for the individualist to be. What does Mr. J. H. Levy mean when he says in "Personal Rights" that Spencerian individualism forgot the individual and represented "rather the yielding of the individual to the selective forces of external nature than progress by the agency of the individual himself"? The art of lifting one's self by the bootstraps remains unmastered; man cannot progress except by adapting himself to nature and exercising his natural faculties. The phrases regarding the conquest of nature are literary, not scientific. I am not aware that Spencer advocated quietism or resignation or submission. Did he not demand the fullest exercise of human faculties, and the widest coöperation, under equal freedom? S. R.

A Belgian Balance-Sheet.

Some friend has sent me a copy of a Christian Socialist paper from France. He has marked an article in which a converted Anarchist (-Communist) tells why he is a Christian and at the same time an Anarchist, and why he finds that his Christianity not only is compatible with his Anarchism, but even supports it,—to wit, because Anarchy is impracticable with such men as we now have, and the only way in which one can look forward with hope to an anarchic future is by a change in human nature; but Christianity is the only power that can produce this change; therefore—etc. I am glad that the man has found the light religiously, and I would not treat the value of that light as a subordinate thing; but I am not satisfied with his logic. It is certainly not good Christianity to hold that we must wait for somebody else to be good before we can go on to do the will of God, and I do not think it good Anarchism to hold that the Anarchist principle has no valid application to the only sort of human society that we know anything of from experience. Whatever may be the fact as to any relation of cause and effect in either direction, I do not think that Christianity is well recommended by the fact that this man's gaining religious faith coincided with his losing his social faith; for it seems to me, to use theological language, that his present faith in Anarchism is a mere "historical faith," and not a "saving faith." I am no warrant, indeed, for the quality of his former faith. His conception of Anarchism may, for aught I know, have been such that it really was not practicable; then his finding out the fact would be a real enlightenment, though not of the most complete and fruitful sort. I can hardly help doubting whether he ever saw the full clear light of Anarchism, because it seems as if he could never have lost sight of it if he had.

> No man can see the light and fail
> To follow; none can look afar,
> Beholding where the heavens grow pale
> The glimmer of the Blazing Star,
> Save in his heart begins to burn
> Some reflex of that heavenly fire;
> He cannot waver, flinch, or turn;
> He must advance, he must desire."

I know our poet's words are not quite true; yet they are quite true in many cases, and they seem to me so axiomatic that I cannot help looking for them to be true in each case.—But as to our Frenchman: it seems to me furthermore that he must have been already discouraged before he became a Christian, for the reason I have stated above,—to wit, that his new doctrine is contrary to a well-known point of Christianity. I am sorry he did not become a Christian before he got discouraged; then he might have amounted to something.

But the marked article was not the thing that most struck me in this paper. I found more significance in a report of certain social-purity mission work in Belgium, with the account of how a number of soldiers were present at a certain meeting, and this footnote to show how good a thing it was:

A short time before this, it had been shown, in full session of the Belgian chamber, that thirty-seven per cent. of the non-commissioned officers were affected with venereal diseases.

There you have a statistical fact to go on. Three-eighths of the non-commissioned officers. And the fact is unquestionably a representative one; we can guess, after a fashion, what a mass of all sorts of sexual abnormality it must stand for in all ranks of that army, if three in every eight non-commissioned officers are affected with venereal disease. One need not doubt, to be sure, that the worst case has been selected for report, and that the case of the commissioned officers or of the privates is less serious; nor need one doubt that among so large a number of men there would have been a good deal of the same thing if they had staid at home. But would there have been among any class of them such a condition as is represented by this thirty-seven per cent. infected with disease? Belgium would be in a bad way indeed, body and soul, if we were to believe that. But no one will be found to believe it. The effect of army life in such respects is notorious; if any one brought statistics to show that the army of any country lived as decently on the whole as the men at home, he would find it hard work to get his statistics accepted. Nobody will doubt that the largeness of this figure, with the largeness of the unseen mass for which this figure stands, is a result of the organization of the Belgian army; and the question that forces itself upon me is: On what basis can any one think that it paid?

Setting aside the cost of the army in other respects, it has cost the increase of debauchery to so high a figure as this. For this cost, what has it returned? It has not defended the Belgian frontier against invasion; the continued independence of Belgium does not depend on the Belgian army. Has it been for foreign conquest? Belgium does hold and conquer the Congo Free State. But for Congo service it would surely be cheaper to hire soldiers of fortune than to spend the blood of Belgian conscripts. I am not arguing in favor of mercenary forces for home defence; but, when you do not want your army for home defence at all, but only for conquering and plundering other countries, I do not see why it is not a good business proposition to hire men wherever you can get the best service for the least money. I may be wrong, however; let us suppose that there must be a large Belgian element in the Congo army if it is to be trustworthy. Then I ask: does it pay? You get from the Congo Free State so many million francs; it ought to be a good lot to correspond to the amount of bloodshed and other outrage by which you gather it. These profits of yours from the Congo may exceed the cash expense of maintaining the Belgian army; I doubt it, but the statistics I have at hand as I write are not recent enough to be worth much. Say they exceed the expense by whatever you dare claim; is it worth the cost in Belgian manhood, in young Belgians whose lives are poisoned by the conditions of your barracks? Will it make up for the mere immediate cash loss to Belgium from having such a section of her population reduced so far in the scale of manhood? But indeed all this is rhetoric; for at any rate the Belgian army is not most of it sent to the Congo, and therefore this cannot be the service it is rendering to justify its existence.

I think that army must be to preserve internal order. Belgium, we know, is liable to strikes which are sometimes disorderly; there are a lot of Socialists there, and governments are much afraid of what those terrible Socialists might do if they were not kept under; there are also Anarchists — I need say no more. Now, public order is an excellent thing. Even if by mistake you suppress a really beneficent revolution, the good it would have done is problematical, while the harm is certain. But, gentlemen, I ask in all seriousness, is public order, so far as in your own judgment it depends on this army of yours, worth the cost that is represented by this thirty-seven per cent.? Could the disorders that you think might arise from leaving the public order to the care of the ordinary police, and of such a militia as can be raised from citizens living at home with their families among their neighbors, equal the harm that you are steadily doing year by year in this one way of which we now speak?

I have even heard that an army was useful to educate the soldiers. Well, if the education given by the Belgian State includes this part of curriculum that we now have under consideration, then the Belgian State must be displaced by another pedagogue. A better can certainly be found. That is positive.

Probably Belgium will be little affected by what I write. But is there an army in the world to which the same considerations do not apply in a considerable degree, even though the figures indicating the evil may be somewhat lower than in Belgium? I think not.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

The glibness and confidence with which Mr. David M. Parry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, attacks the policies of the trade unions indicates that he supposes his arguments to be absolutely unassailable. He must have been a considerably astonished man, therefore, when, after bitterly complaining of trade union efforts to restrict competition by limiting the number of apprentices and the hours of labor (though the unions for the most part make these limitations effective without resort to legislation or other forms of invasive force), he found himself confronted with the following questions, put by the Indianapolis Central Labor Union: "As you believe in unrestricted competition in the employment of labor, do you also believe in conducting industrial enterprises in harmony with natural competitive conditions? Do you believe in free trade or protection? If you are a protectionist, how do you harmonize the application of a natural law in employing laborers and the ignoring of this law in conducting a manufacturing enterprise?" Of course, in reply, Mr. Parry could only chatter about the aim of the tariff being the advancement of the interests of the whole people, which reply the Boston "Herald" justly characterizes as evasive, unsatisfactory, and disingenuous, saying: "Mr. Parry can hardly expect his arguments against organized labor to be received without dissent when he is unwilling to concede their application in the case of those whom he represents." The "Herald's" verdict, however, inevitably suggests the thought that, whenever free trade organs of the "Herald's" stamp are called upon to justify the restrictions which they favor upon competition in banking, they, too, declare the banking monopoly a necessity to the safety of the dear people. Every monopolist who meets a libertarian in debate is obliged to be evasive, unsatisfactory, and disingenuous in defence of the particular monopoly which he favors. The Anarchist is the only thoroughly honest champion of free competition.

The mayor of Chicago, who is not a man of much intelligence or force, has unwittingly exposed the hypocrisy of the law-and-order gang of his crime-ridden city. The awful catastrophe in the Iroquois theatre, say the upper-class criminals, would not have occurred, had the laws regulating places of public assembly been strictly enforced. In a spasm of virtue the mayor undertook to "enforce the law." Of course, he had to close all the theatres in Chicago, as none had complied with the law. Did this please the "solid" grafters and the anti-crime crusaders? Not a bit of it. Mayor Harrison is denounced as a reckless, insincere, demagogical politician. Isn't he enforcing the law? Yes, but—against the wrong parties. It is all right to enforce the law by clubbing pickets and unionists, but, when "business men" violate the law, it is "hysteria" to enforce it. Crocodile tears are shed over the actors and theatre employees who are losing salaries or wages, and that the law, not the mayor, is responsible for that effect is a consideration the respectable offenders do not care to remember. Harrison, it is true, is inconsistent. He closed the theatres and halls, without taking similar action against factories, stores, office-buildings, etc.; but if he were to "enforce the law" in all cases, he would be mobbed by the plutocratic "reformers." I am glad that he has given them a dose of their own medicine. They are beginning to talk about "enforceable laws," and, if labor is not hopelessly stupid, it will thank them for that phrase. If unenforceable laws may be ignored, unjust and tyrannical laws may be equally disregarded. Labor could make every unjust law "unenforceable."

Will the Spencerian philosophy be permanent? F. Howard Collins, one of the late thinker's adherents, writes to the London "Times," saying that Spencer himself would have been the first to deny that his thoughts are final. In fact, Spencer once asked how any one could think that his thoughts were the only things that would prove an exception to the all-pervading principle of evolution. There is a fallacy in this reasoning. Of course philosophy, thought, evolves, and the Spencerian system will be (has been already) considerably impaired by criticism and advancing knowledge. But certain thoughts do not evolve. If they represent discoveries, scientific inductions, they remain

intact. There is the discovery of the circulation of the blood; has it "evolved"? There is the generalization of the conservation of energy? Has it evolved? The notion that radium throws doubt upon it is foolish, begotten of "newspaper science." Are there not politico-economic and social thoughts which, being true discoveries, cannot evolve so long as human nature remains substantially what it is? This distinction between thought and thoughts is vital. We are all indebted to Spencer for many thoughts which, I hope, will not "evolve."

Simple-minded people are hailing as a victory a decision of the Oregon supreme court sustaining an initiative-and-referendum amendment to the State constitution. The amendment had been attacked as a violation of the provision in the federal constitution guaranteeing to each State a republican form of government. The allegation was dishonest nonsense, for direct legislation is not unrepublican; but the court would have swallowed it, if the amendment had seemed to it a real menace to corporate interests. It declined to make itself ridiculous because there was no necessity for such an exhibition. Let the people amuse themselves; the legislation they may propose can be declared unconstitutional and no harm to vested rights need ever result. The referendumites will be disillusionized in due time. There is nothing to celebrate. The brotherhood of thieves has so arranged matters that the people cannot possibly win. Emancipation lies in a different direction.

Papers that ought to know better have been commenting with much gravity on Roosevelt's "magnificent tribute" to Root. In Hay, Roosevelt once said to a correspondent, he had a great secretary of State; in Knox a great attorney-general; in Cortelyou a great something-or-other; in—but one does not remember the other "great men" in the wonderful cabinet. In Root, Theodore continued, he had a man who would have been great in any position, a man abler than any one in public life today or for the last twenty-five years. It would be interesting to know what Knox and Root (the others do not count) think of the person who pays them these "tributes." What does Roosevelt, the intellectual dwarf and moral humbug, know about ability and greatness? The value of tributes is determined by the stature of him who pays them. The value of Rooseveltian tributes is a minus quantity.

The Republicans are "amazed" at the Democratic talk about the candidacy of Hearst. How can anybody seriously discuss the chances, ambitions, or prospects of a Hearst? A ridiculous question. After Roosevelt, nothing is impossible. And the Republican party has sunk so low that not only is Roosevelt's nomination discussed, but no one is willing to appear as a candidate against him! Such is the power of patronage and spoils, and such the effect of humbug.

A writer in "Munsey's Magazine" says that Thomas Hardy's poems "are of a world which God has forgotten." J. H. D., the literary critic of the "Public," thinks this criticism "entirely beside the mark," adding: "Mr. Hardy makes no assumption of a God forgetting the world, but there is a strong implication that the world is forgetting God." Liberty's readers can read in another column Hardy's poem specifically entitled "God-Forgotten," and judge for themselves. In my opinion the entire poem, and especially the last stanza, show that the "Munsey" writer's interpretation is the correct one.

He who says that no nation has ever done for another and inferior people as much as the United States have done for the Filipinos is a shallow ignoramus or a hypocrite. The statement is found in the message of the present occupant of the White House.

The "Crude" Superstitions.

On January 21 the "Sun" gave some interesting quotations from a momentous lecture by Rev. Dr. Joseph McMahon, director of the Catholic Library Association. I say "momentous," because the reverend doctor called emphatic attention to an influence working in our midst which few suspect, and which, in his opinion, bids fair to undo us ere we are aware of it. The said dire influence is a strong tendency toward what the good doctor calls "superstition." It seems to have concealed itself, and its vengeful purposes, behind people known in the community as palmists, clairvoyants, Christian Scientists, and (God save the mark!) Unitarians. It is a pitiful and most alarming condition of affairs, but the good doctor says it is true.

Listen to what the said good doctor says: "Every priest who hears confessions in this city feels that the circle of this influence is widening daily. I frequently am amazed at the character of some of the people who yied to these crude forms of superstition. Take, for example, palmistry. What is it? A certain amount of science, some shrewd guessing, and a bit of humor."

The "Sun" reporter then adds: "Dr. McMahon classed Christian Science, Dowieism, faith healing, Unitarianism, and Buddhism all in the same category."

Let's see. Did you ever hear of all the great cures effected (or affected) by the palmists through the handling of some so-called "sacred" relic, or by bathing in some so-called "blessed" pool? What! you didn't? Why, we've all heard of hundreds of them! Not by palmists, you say? By whom, then? By Catholics, you say? Well, perhaps I'm mistaken as to the exploiters, but the exploits are all right. Oh, I understand what you mean, now! You mean that palmists don't resort to that kind of superstition, but Catholics do. Does look so, doesn't it? Yes, for sure!

Again, the good doctor says that thousands flock to clairvoyants, and "pay exorbitant fees to obtain a so-called solution to their various problems, and be informed of events to come. They are crammed with a stock of predictions, and go away happy. This form of the superstition is becoming dangerous."

Yes, it's surely "dangerous," but to whom? To me it looks like a grave danger to the Catholic church, for one thing, where people go in large numbers (to use the good doctor's own language) to "pay exorbitant fees to obtain a so-called solution to their various problems, and be informed of events to come." What is the confessional for, if not for that? People would not go there, unless they wanted "solutions for their various problems," and "information of events to come." Some are satisfied with what the priests of the church have to offer, while others prefer what the palmists, or the clairvoyants, give. Personally, I prefer either the palmists or the clairvoyants to the priests, for the former take some chances by making predictions as to things mundane, while the latter are afraid to issue any promises maturing this side of the grave. Nobody ever knows whether or not their promises are worth a cent, for nobody ever comes back to give testimony of the matter. The priests are wholly safe in all that they prophesy, always, because they are too wise to put any of their promises, or predictions, to the test of earthly conditions—and earthly conditions are the only ones which are legal tender in human affairs.

I am very glad, too, that those superstitious charlatans, the Unitarians, have at last been shown up as they are. They are the worst of the lot, in my mind. Why, they are so debased in their superstitions that they even deny the immaculate conception of Christ, and the Trinity—where one becomes three, and three become one, and all are divine (but one of them is human, too), and one demands murderous sacrifices to show his love, and the other gives up his innocent life to show his justice, and all are nothing, and each is all—even the Trinity, I say, is denied by Unitarians through their groveling superstition. I am glad—oh, so glad!—that the good doctor has "shown up" these superstitious and bigoted Unitarians, and their satellites, the palmists and clairvoyants. The Christian Science people and the faith healers are not so bad. Their superstition is not yet so deep that they discard *all* the great and thoroughly-proved facts of the world, like the miracles. Their superstition leads them to believe that such great scientific facts are *still* demonstrable, but they'll get over that, in time. True science, which Catholics alone possess, teaches us that the solid rock of truth is to be found only by planting our faith upon those things which *cannot* be demonstrated. Then we know they are of God. If they are demonstrable—why, they are then nothing but *natural* occurrences, and all reason for God's existence disappears, of course.

Yes, I'm glad that the good doctor has spoken, and spoken so fearlessly and clearly.

I want—we all want—the *realities* of life—such things as the immaculate conception, and transubstantiation, the three-times-one-is-one-and-one-time-one-is-three, the confessional, and the holy water, and the incense, and the robes, and the candles, and the baptisms—all such things. With those hourly needs provided for we can all get along; but, if we are to give way to superstitions—well, we might as well quit the game. I'm overflowing with gratitude to the good doctor for putting his foot down hard on all the superstitions, and I now feel like singing with peaceful joy. I've already picked out the site of my home in the new world for which we (that is, all of us who are not superstitious, and who believe in all that our good doctors and priests tell us) are bound, and I shall choose an onyx house, at the corner of Ruby street and Topaz avenue, opposite Jasper park, where the eagle with the twelve horns blows his golden bazzoo at eonic intervals. But those who are superstitious—palmists, clairvoyants, Christian Scientists, faith healers, Dowieites, and Unitarians—well, they will have to be re-baked, in order to burn all the superstition out of them. Burning has always been a favorite method with the church for the elimination of superstition and the development of a true and loving and trusting faith.

ONLOOKER.

Who Was Hurt?

To the Editor of Liberty:

The main thing that I want to know about Panama is who has been robbed, and of what; or who has been hurt, and wherein. If by the action of the United States nobody has suffered anything but the loss of the power to oppress, I do not see how there has been any great outrage, even if an equal and similar power to oppress has at the same time been conferred upon other persons by the consent of a large majority of those who are to be oppressed.

I had not thought of claiming that Panama was getting liberated or anything of that sort, though I suppose there are geographical grounds for hoping that the new government will be more liberal than that of Bogota. But nobody has claimed that the intention was to free Panama. It is undisputed that the purpose of the whole thing has been merely to resist one gigantic act of oppression, the most gigantic that within my lifetime has been practically possible as an oppression relating merely to an isolated commercial action: the prohibition of building the canal. The aim of all parties concerned in this revolution has been to get the canal built; the establishment of the republic of Panama was an incidental; I am sure I do not see why we should treat it as a main point. Though the oppression in question could no doubt have been bought off, or existed solely for the purpose

of being bought off, I enjoy seeing it defied instead.

As to the undeniable fact that Roosevelt would not have dared do the same to England or Germany, I confess that I do not see what on earth that has to do with the case, since we are not discussing Roosevelt's personal character nor the existence of any picturesque or heroic element in his present action.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

[I answer Mr. Byington that, among others, I have been hurt, and in this,—that a sovereign State, assuming to speak and act for me, has destroyed a portion of the sovereignty of another and weaker sovereign State, justifying this act of destruction on high moral grounds which it unquestionably would dispute as the opposite of moral were another and stronger sovereign State to treat it similarly and for similar reasons. This is an outrage, not on Colombia, but on my personality and on public decency. It was committed by Theodore Roosevelt as president of the United States, and the character and conduct of the president of the United States is precisely the subject that has to be discussed in dealing with this Panama episode.—EDITOR LIBERTY.]

The Origin of Government.

[Williston Fish in "Puck."]

"It was for these lofty purposes," wrote the enthusiastic scholar, "that governments were instituted among men"; and, when he wrote it, his own government would, if it could, have immured him in a deep and substantial dungeon to show him what governments are really for.

In order to clear up any misconception that may exist, I will now state how and why governments were instituted among men, and will then, in brief, explain their workings.

To clearly understand the subject of government it will be necessary for us, in imagination, to transport ourselves far into the past. We find ourselves surrounded by the forest primeval; the birds are singing in the foliage, the animals are disporting themselves, man is engaged in some agreeable pastime. Birds and animals and all nature are free. Every man is free, and they are all rejoicing and feeling first-rate.

"I will not," we hear a heady savage observing, "I will not pay my good money to support a king lying beneath a rich, embroidered canopy eating his viands from a golden dish."

"Oh! you won't?" says Fate, and straightway governments were instituted among men. And thereafter the heady savage not only put up his good money, but politely bent his knee when he offered it. Moreover, he cheered lustily when the king rode by under his rich embroidered canopy, and in after times he subscribed for a newspaper, and read with delight what the king was in the habit of eating out of his golden dish.

The first government was undoubtedly established by a large furry savage belting another savage with a club and informing him solemnly that his name was Me Too. If my deductions are correct, the first savage got the second into a disadvantageous position where he could let him have it, by assuring him that his one purpose in life was to do him good.

In this simple manner a great many small governments sprang up all over the salubrious land of Asia. In the course of time a strong, vigorous, and stealthy chief, who was a good natural liar and a fair hypnotist for the times, would secure other subjects until he would rule over, say, six. He would then begin to call them a great and glorious nation, and tell them that they were especially remarkable for their intelligence, their public virtues, and their love of liberty.

That is the way governments were instituted among men.

It would have been a manifest advantage for these small governments to join together, not so much for the protection of the people against invasion, as the books state, but to reduce the percentage of chiefs. When six persons have to support a chief all by themselves, it makes an excessive demand upon their civic virtues. It would, therefore, have been much to the credit of the chiefs if they had perceived this and had been intent on remedying the evil when they began to amalgamate governments. But chiefs were not actuated by this idea. The way governments came to be united was this: a chief would see that another chief was disabled by age or wounds or over-eating, and he would therefore take his life and annex his kingdom. In this way there came to be nations of twelve people, and then of twenty-four people, and then of forty-eight people, and governments became established among men.

In the first beginning the chief satisfied himself by taking away the cocoanut that his single subject had climbed the tree for,—that was all the first government took, because that was all there was to take,—but, as the country became prosperous, and business grew diversified, and the subjects got birds and wild fruits and clams, the chief took them, too, and the great central idea of government became crystallized. The chief then issued an order that he should not be obliged to take the things, but that the subjects should bring them in.

In the earlier times the order was that the subjects should bring in all they had, and this was a very good and perfectly logical idea, and in theory all governments approve of it to this day; but in practice it was not entirely successful, so that, after a time and after many cabinet councils, it was determined to allow the subjects to reserve enough to live on, so that they could continue to bring in things. The reader will understand the philosophy of this. However, the question then arose, what *was* enough to live on? and a long struggle was precipitated. It was a glorious epoch in government when the chiefs got to leaving the subjects enough to come out alive on in the spring and enough more for seed, and it was a still more glorious epoch when theory and practice were so justly balanced that the government got the very largest amount possible while at the same time the subjects were allowed to retain enough to maintain themselves in the very highest condition of productivity. This glorious epoch has not arrived yet.

As was to be expected, improvements have from time to time been made in the methods of government, and a safeguard now generally adopted is to require the subject to swear how many cocoanuts he has picked, in order to prevent him from flanoriously copping out a few and enjoying them with his friends.

The first subject did not like being a subject very well, and, when there came to be nations of six and twelve and twenty-four subjects, they would complain and grumble and remark about the impositions put upon them. If they had got the pot well to boiling in this way, they might have slipped the yoke—or, rather, to sustain the figure, they might have cooked the chief's goose,—but treachery from time to time revealed the grumblers to the chief. Now, as will surprise those who do not grasp the great central idea of government, the chief took a personal dislike against people who worked or spoke against the government, and he was especially bitter and uncompromising against those who attempted to disenchief him. He would, therefore, spear the ill-advised critics, and elevate the betrayers to the peerage. In this way rulers kept their people ever happy and content. To fill their cup to overflowing, the chief would, on public occasions, restate to them the propositions that they were noted for their enlightenment and their patriotism, and especially for their love of liberty, which was so strong as to be simply intolerant of restraint in any form which had not been thought up yet. He would tell them that they had founded (they, mind you) a government which was a pattern to all peoples, and which simply could not be duplicated at the price. He would say: Who dare criticise a government bearing the stamp of the approval of such a people? He called those who were with him *loyal*, and the people liked it, and the word was a great success; but his greatest success was in naming those who were against him. He invented for them the name of traitor, and the loyal people became very hot against traitors, and began to roll the *r* in the word at an early date. Of course, in these times, we can see that there was formerly pressing need of some good advance traitors, and, in fact, after carefully considering the older times, it seems to me that traitor was about the most complimentary thing you could call a man. It is certainly strange, although we are constantly told of sagacious sovereigns, and monarchs who encouraged progress, and kings who were great patrons of learning, we have never yet heard of a king who conferred a degree on a traitor. I can account for this only by assuming that the king never lost sight of the great central idea of government.

The Duty of Perpetual Toil.

[New York Evening Post.]

It might well be thought by the innocent-minded that Uncle Sam was about to appoint himself universal receiver of revolutions. His course at Panama made all professional revolutionists prick up their ears. There was the old gentleman for them to approach with their gold-brick revolutions! Accordingly, they all set to work. It is a fact, reported by a detective agency employed by Central and South American governments to "shadow" exiles and agitators in this city, that every mother's son of them took ship the moment that the success of the Panama revolutions was assured by the president's action. Let the revolutions begin! No chiefs of faction need despair of seeing Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Hay turn a telescope their way, as in Mr. Opper's cartoon, and say: "I recognize a republic." Indeed, we know how promptly the Dominican insurgents applied for recognition. If one Junta, why not another? Why should not all revolutionary heads bobbing up and down on the horizon look alike to a benevolent and not too inquisitive president?

But it is Uncle Sam as the champion abater of nuisances—all but those on his own premises—whom Europeans are invoking. Doubtless, they would be pleased to see him doing scavenger work for their benefit. It has long been their hope that the United States would take hold of Central and South America, with Hayti and San Domingo, and "clean them up," so that our fastidious trade rivals could live there in greater comfort and make more money. There is involved in all this, as in many other notions and plans current in the great political world to-day, a new doctrine. It is the gospel of work, revised so as to read that everybody must work but you. No idlers are to be tolerated except yourself. It is right for you to seek easy conditions of life, but for every one else there must be honest toil and bread earned in the sweat of the face.

This idea crops out amusingly in the letter on the negro in the South which we print to-day. Of its defence of lynching we say nothing, except to refer the writer to the article of that other Southerner, Thomas Nelson Page, in the "North American Review," in which he plainly confesses that lynching is a failure in the very ends it aims at. But what most troubles our correspondent is that the negroes can live with but little work. That is to him the intolerable thing. He unconsciously echoes the complaints of the Uitlanders about the lazy Kaffirs in the Transvaal; and we may soon hear it gravely proposed, as it was in the case of the latter, that negroes be put under military control and compelled to work twelve hours a day and six days a week, whether they wish to or need to or not. We need to have them do it, and that is enough.

Now, we have no thought of raising a song in praise of idleness. If any man will not work, neither let him eat. That is sound doctrine. But, if he can obtain all the food he requires without working all the time, who shall say him nay? Certainly, it does not lie in the mouths of lovers of ease and luxury to complain. When it is a question of the solemn duty of working all the time, let the gentlemen of leisure who preach it begin themselves. It is a little too much when men who all their lives pursue a fortune largely for the sake of the freedom from the necessity of work which it will give them—men who are glad of every vacation and long trip to Europe they can take, or are delighted at the short hours at the office they are able to keep—suddenly discover what a social offence it is for a poor man to take his ease as he goes along.

The same spirit is clearly manifested in the exist-

ing attitude of strong and rich nations towards the weak and poor. Why won't the beggars work? They have mines and other natural resources which would come in mighty handy for us, but the lazy fellows prefer to take it easy. Why don't they work like navvies, so that *we* can take it easy? This is very much the air and tone which the great Powers now assume in regard to the backward nations. The thing to consider is, not what Koreans or Chinese want to do with their own, but what use Japan or Russia can make of their land. Dominicans rather like revolutions, and have thriven on them these many years; but, when the time comes for us to make them settle down and form regular habits of working—for us,—the new gospel of work will be found to apply.

Corruption Become Cynical.

[The Public.]

Congressman Hearst's presidential boom, which has now burst through the confines of the Hearst papers and surprised the readers of other journals with its unexpected suddenness and unthinkable magnitude, bids fair to rank as the most cynical episode in the progress of American politics toward the bread-and-circus climax of McKinleyism.

It is commonly believed of Mr. Hearst that he is trying to buy a presidential nomination, and then to buy the election. Circumstances seem to justify this impeachment. But what of it, and why not? Should that be his purpose, and should he succeed, the only novelty about it all would be the fact that he had done the buying himself and with his own money.

It is this novelty, however, that gives to the matter its cynical aspect. When Mr. McKinley's nomination and election were bought in 1896, the political proprieties were observed—superficially. Mr. McKinley bought no nomination. He bought no election. He furnished no funds. Mr. Hanna acted as purchasing agent, and the funds were furnished by the expectant syndicates of Wall street. So Mr. McKinley became president nominally in the old-fashioned way. He did not buy the office. It was bought for him.

Yet the fact that the presidency was bought proved that it could be bought; and with cynical shrewdness Mr. Hearst has set about gratifying his ambition by taking advantage of that discovery. If the presidency could be bought for McKinley, why may it not be bought by Hearst? There you have the psychology of the Hearst boom. "Is the office for sale, politicians and voters all? Is it money you want? Don't go to Wall street. I'll give money—my own money. And why tangle yourselves up with middlemen? I'll give it myself." That is the spirit of the Hearst movement.

While this is cynical to the verge of grim humor, it is due to Mr. Hearst to observe that there is "no string tied" to the money he is lavishing, save the one condition that it shall bring him the particular commodity he is openly offering to buy. Unlike the money that bought McKinley's election, no secret obligation to greedy syndicates goes with Hearst's money. On the contrary he is committed in most respects to an anti-plutocratic policy. In an interview, for instance, which is reported in the Chicago "Tribune" Mr. Hearst fairly shines as an aggressive Democrat. So he does in some of the editorials that appear in his papers. But there is a disturbing fear that in both interview and editorial his refulgence is a reflected light. Mr. Hearst publishes great editorials, but does not always write them. He sends impressive letters to public meetings, but modestly refrains from verifying their authorship by equally impressive appearances as a speaker. His experience in expression has not been extensive. Yet it must be said for him that in his "Tribune" interview—ostensibly an oral extemporary talk of two hours in duration—he appears to have exhibited a firm grasp of great and subtle questions and ready powers of expression, which orators with years of experience in extemporary debate on questions of State might envy. Had Mr. Hearst delivered this interview as a speaker on the floor of congress, under fire and visibly before the country, where he could not shine by reflected light, it would have placed him beyond dispute among statesmen of the presidential class.

But in the plutocratic atmosphere of the day Mr. Hearst cares less, probably, to be a statesman of the presidential class than to be in the class of presidential candidates who can command "the price" without being dependent upon anyone for a dollar. And certain it is that he has already played havoc with the Gormans and Parkers and all their kind, who are looking to Wall street syndicates to buy the office for them. In spite of the gravity of the matter, the consternation of these plutocratic Democrats is something to laugh at. But the situation is really very grave. That such a movement as Hearst's should have become formidable in American politics is a scathing commentary upon the degradation into which McKinleyism has plunged the country. Here you have the ripened fruit of the McKinleyistic gospel of "get there."

How great the relief to turn from that degrading gospel to the elevating and regenerating gospel which the real intellectual and moral leader of the Democratic party, William J. Bryan, is teaching, and to which he gave expression in his speech at the welcome-home banquet in Lincoln!

Cortelyou's Menagerie.

[The Public.]

On Ellis Island, New York, a curious case of imprisonment may be observed. The prisoner is confined in a cage; literally in a cage, such as may be seen in menageries. It is about nine feet long by eight feet wide; the two ends are closed only with bars, so that the prisoner is never concealed from view; the whole contrivance stands in the middle of the floor of a basement room, and about fifteen feet from the windows; and no one is allowed to approach it except in the presence of vigilant guards. The involuntary occupant of this cage is not a dangerous lunatic. He is not a convicted criminal. He is a sane gentleman of education and refinement, a peaceable subject of Edward VII., a man of affairs, a retail clerk (shopkeepers' assistant) when at home in London, and the head of the shop assistants' union of Great Britain. He came to New York to arrange for organizing the retail clerks of this country in an international union with those of Great Britain. As soon as he came he was arrested. Not for any crime known to the laws of any modern nation. He was arrested for the medieval offence of "disbelieving" something. The something which this gentleman does not believe in is organized government. It is because he "disbelieves in organized government," and for nothing else—let us repeat, for nothing else, for that is all the official and the judicial records show—that this man, John Turner, is confined like a wild animal in that cage upon the mere say-so of a member of President Roosevelt's cabinet. There is probably no place in the civilized world to-day where such a spectacle would be possible—excepting only Russia, Turkey, and the United States.

Labor, Anarchy, and the Yellow Press.

[New York Daily News.]

It will be a sorry day for hewers of wood and drawers of water when freedom of speech is strangled in America under the forms of law, and officials are empowered to arrest without warrant and imprison or banish without trial. Yet some labor unions say they "cannot afford" to take up the Turner case, lest they be misunderstood and classed with Anarchists.

A fine bogeyman to frighten simple folk with is this "Anarchy," of which ignorant and stupid editors have been scribbling ever since a half-witted maniac murdered a president. It has frightened workingmen into submission to police tyranny, and it has served the purpose of vote-cadging politicians in congress. The very shadow of the word deters American citizens from asserting the fundamental rights for which their fathers fought. The noisiest "friend of the people" among metropolitan newspapers hasn't begun to recover from the blue funk it was thrown into when it was accused by hysterical critics of "encouraging Anarchy" in its cartoons. It dare not speak above a whisper of a meeting called to discuss the Turner case, because somebody has said that Turner calls himself an Anarchist.

It is not strange, therefore, that workingmen and their organizations hesitate to identify themselves with a protest against the deportation law. They are not expected to be more accurately informed than the wise editors, more courageous than the braggart yellow press. But, nevertheless, workingmen should be foremost in resisting the tendency of this government to invade liberty and arrogate to itself powers denied by the Declaration of Independence to all government.

The Small Deserts of Dagoes.

[New York Evening Post.]

Imagine what our senate would have done if, when the Hay-Pauncefote treaty was before it, it had learned that Lord Lansdowne was repeatedly telegraphing to the British ambassador at Washington that the treaty must be ratified without change or delay. That is what Mr. Hay did to our minister to Colombia, and Commissioner Reyes states only the truth when he says that the demand was derogatory to the national dignity.

But we have had for some time Mr. Hay's reply to this complaint of discourteous treatment. It is, stripped of verbiage: Colombia is a minor Power, and has no right to take its dignity and self-respect too seriously. A "Dago" senate has no use for generous sentiments befitting great Powers only. The interests of civilization required a canal, and, since Colombia is a Picayune State, she should have obligingly consented to be blustered into doing the will of her betters. President Roosevelt evidently held the same opinion of the republic of Colombia when he borrowed from the French the awful word "anti-social" to characterize the obstructers of the canal project.

In all these transactions one perceives a common principle—that of international inequality. But it is a notion crudely and imperfectly understood. In the isthmian matter, for example, we have twisted and turned in a manner humiliating to the national moral sense, trying to prove that we have treated Colombia as well as we should any Power under the circumstances. How much more honest it would be if we could say confidently that Colombia was the kind of nation that didn't deserve to be treated well, and that, such being the case, we had treated her quite as well as she deserved.

Spencer's Executor Unwelcome Here.

[G. E. M. in "Truth Seeker."]

If any part of Mr. Spencer's estate were situated in this country, there is one of his executors who could not come here to settle it. The executor is the Hon. Auberon Herbert, the Anarchist whom Huxley, in his essay on government, acknowledged by name as his friend. Mr. Spencer probably did not see the humor of appointing as his executor a man who cannot enter the country where his writings were first welcomed. And here arises a question.

If men not well disposed toward organized government are to be pushed back into the sea when they touch our shores, why should the writings of such men be admitted to the country and distributed by the government through the mails? For, after all, it is not the *men* who are regarded as dangerous, but their ideas. I suppose the secretary of labor and commerce has given some thought to the difficulties he would meet in detaining an idea at Ellis Island, and deporting the same on the vessel that brought it over.

The End and the Means.

[Henry Maret.]

Geometry is wrong. The straight line is not the shortest road from one point to another. The more you make the State the master of consciences, the greater will be your chances of freeing yourselves from State domination. "What!" cries my fellow-worker; "you wish the same end that we do, and you will not accept the means!"

The end is liberty. The means is the abolition of liberty. Unfortunately I am old enough to have heard this song sung by Napoleon III and his government. Then it was called the crowning of the edifice. Napoleon said to us: "My friends, there is nobody who loves liberty as much as I do. But you understand of course that I cannot give it to you as long as you remain divided in thought and opinion, having no moral

unity. Make haste, all of you, to think as I do, and I promise you that, as soon as you all agree with me, I will permit you to hold the opinion that you like."

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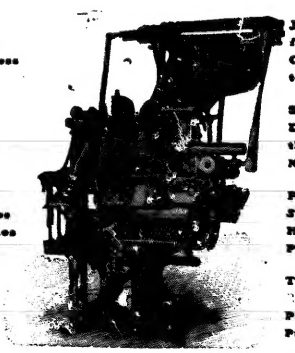

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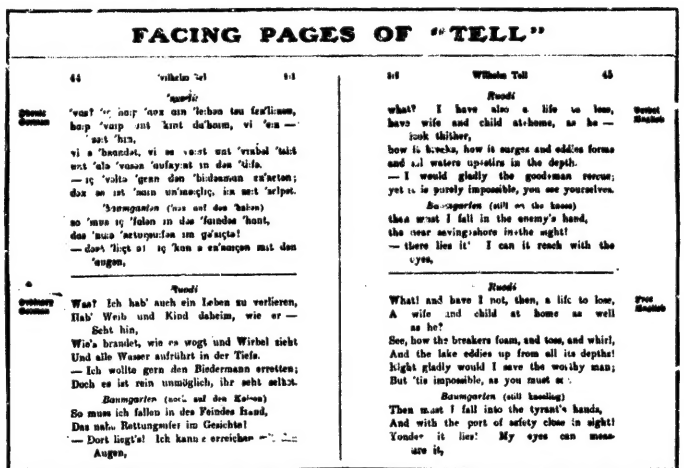

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October, 1900 JAMES GEDDES, Professor of Romance Languages in the University of Boston

UNIVERSAL ALPHABET

In this table, the letters representing the *voiceless* sounds, that is, the sounds pronounced without vibration of the vocal cords, are *enclosed in curves ( )*.

ORGANS	Lips	Gums	Palate	Veil	Uvula	Throat
Wholly closed, then opened	b(p)	d(t)	ɟ(c)	g(k) ɢ(q)		(ʔ)
Nose passage open	m(ɱ)	n(ɳ)	ɲ(ɲ)	ŋ(ŋ)		
Open at sides (of tongue) only		l(l)	ʎ(ʎ)	ʟ(ʟ)		
Trilled		r(r)			ʀ(ʀ)	ʜ
So close as to produce friction	v(f) ʋ(ʃ) Rounded	z(s) ʒ(ʃ) ð(θ) ɹ(ɹ)	ʝ(ç)	ɣ(x) ʁ(χ)		ɦ(h) (ḥ)
Very close	Rounded		y ɥ u i ɨ ɯ			
Close	Rounded		ʏ ʊ ɪ ᵿ			
Half close	Rounded		ø ɵ ɤ e ə ʌ			
Half open	Rounded		ɶ ɜ ɔ ɛ ɐ ʌ			
Open			æ ɑ			
Very open			a ɑ			

ː denotes that the *preceding* sound is relatively *long*.
ˑ denotes that the sounds just *after* it are relatively *loud*.
~ denotes that the sound under it is *nasal*, or produced with the passage from throat to nose open.

[ ] denote that the *pitch* of the enclosed sounds is *high*.
[ ] denote that the *pitch* of the enclosed sounds is *low*.
/ denotes that the *pitch* of the preceding sounds *rises*.
\ denotes that the *pitch* of the preceding sounds *falls*.

Henry Sweet:

"Phonetics is almost as old as civilization itself . . . It is the unphonetic, not the phonetic methods that are an innovation."

Paul Passy:

"I was disagreeably surprised to observe that in American schools, as almost everywhere in France, they make use, from the very start, of the German characters, so embarrassing to beginners, and which there is every advantage in not taking up till later on."

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